

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USEC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: FRAGA'S FUTURE POLITICAL PARTY PRESENTS ITS "PLATFORM"

REF: MADRID A-30, 1976

1. WHILE STILL AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN, INTERIOR MINISTER FRAGA
FOUNDED "GODSA" ("GABINETE DE ORIENTACION Y DOCUMENTACION") AS

A STUDY-GROUP TO PROVIDE HIM WITH POLITICAL POSITION PAPERS

AND, OBVIOUSLY, TO SERVE AS THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASE FOR A

FUTURE POLITICAL PARTY TO BE CALLED "REFORMA DEMOCRATICA"

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(REFAIR). AN ADVANCE COPY OF ITS LONG-AWAITED COMPREHENSIVE

PROGRAM FOR REFORM WAS GIVEN TO THE AMBASSADOR BY MINISTER FRAGA. IT IS OF OBVIOUS INTEREST AS WHAT FRAGA PERCEIVES TO BE A VALID BASE FOR A CENTER-RIGHT PARTY WHICH, IT WAS ANNOUNCED ON THE OCCASION OF THE RELEASE OF THE PROGRAM ON 26 FEB, WILL BE FUNCTIONING IN JUNE, READY TO PARTICIPATE IN NOV'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

2. THE PREFACE STATES WELL THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN SPAIN: FRANCO'S DEATH HAS LEFT ROOTLESS THE INSTITUTIONS STRUCTURED TO SERVE HIS AUTHORITARIAN AND CHARISMATIC RULE AND HAS MADE IMPOSSIBLE THE CONTINUANCE OF HIS SYSTEM; HIS LONG RULE HAS LEFT POLITICAL ACTIVITY ATROPHIED AND UNREAL; THE WORKING SECTOR IS THE MOST CONFLICTIVE IN EUROPE; THE UNIVERSITIES ARE OUT-OF-DATE AND VOLATILE. HOWEVER, THE DESIRE OF THE CHURCH FOR SEPARATION FROM THE STATE IS A POSITIVE SIGN AND THE ARMED FORCES, THE LAST DEFENSE OF PUBLIC ORDER, REMAIN COMMITTED TO THEIR TRADITION OF DISCIPLINE.

3. ITS GENERAL POLITICAL GOALS ARE STATED EQUALLY WELL; REFORM WITHIN CONTINUITY, A CLIMATE OF AUTHENTIC NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, REFORM BASED ON A MAJORITY CONSENSUS, POLITICAL PROGRESS WITHIN MAXIMUM SECURITY FOR SOCIAL STABILITY. A STRONG STATE WHERE THE LAW IS APPLIED EQUALLY TO ALL, A FREE AND DYNAMIC SOCIETY, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL ECONOMICALLY WITHOUT PRIVILEGED CLASSES.

4. HOWEVER, ITS SPECIFIC REFORM GOALS--SEPARATED INTO POLITICAL REFORM, SOCIAL REFORM AND ECONOMIC REFORM--ARE NOT STATED AS EXPLICITLY. IT PROPOSES, FOR INSTANCE, FOR THREE HOUSES WITH THE CORPORATE NATIONAL COUNCIL REMOVED FROM ANY DIRECT LEGISLATIVE FUNCTION AND RELEGATED TO A STRICTLY ADVISORY ROLE, WITH ONE HOUSE APPARENTLY TO SERVE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF INTERESTS AND WITH ANOTHER HOUSE TO BE ELECTED VIA DIRECT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND TO BE THE SOLE BODY TO WHICH THE GOVT IS TO BE RESPONSIBLE. IT DOES NOT, HOWEVER, SUGGEST HOW THESE VARIOUS BODIES ARE TO BE CONSTITUTED. IT ALSO CALLS AS WELL FOR THE "ORGANIZATION OF MODERN POLITICAL FORCES" (A EUPHEMISM FOR PARTIES).

5. DOMESTICALLY, IT CALLS AS WELL, AMONG OTHER THINGS, FOR RECOGNITION OF REGIONALIZATION, FOR DECENTRALIZATION OF ADMINIS-
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TRATION, FOR GUARANTEE OF A WIDE VARIETY OF HUMAN RIGHTS (INCLUDING THE RIGHTS TO STRIKE, TO FREE EXPRESSION, TO PETITION, AND, POSSIBLY, TO LABOR UNIONS), AND FOR A UNITY OF LEGAL JURISDICTION WITH MILITARY JUSTICE HAVING JURISDICTION ONLY OVER MILITARY CRIMES. IT CALLS ALSO FOR SUPPORT FOR THE FORCES OF PUBLIC ORDER AND FOR REPRESSION OF TERRORISM. OF PARTICULAR NOTE IS ITS CALL FOR FULL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY WITH SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, THE STATE PROVIDING FINANCIAL

ASSISTANCE FOR A TEN-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD, AND WITH STATE CONTROL OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS, PROHIBITING THEM FROM PARTICIPATING IN CERTAIN PARTICULARLY CONFLICTIVE "SOCIAL FUNCTIONS."

6. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS THE PROGRAM LISTS INTEGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AS THE FIRST PRIORITY. IT CITES THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES AS A MEANS OF ENTERING INTO WESTERN DEFENSE, IT URGES A CONTINUANCE OF SPAIN'S TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES "BUT WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION OF OUR FREEDOM OF ACTION IN RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES," AND REFERS IN A LOW-KEY FASHION TO SPAIN'S RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA.

7. IT PLACES THE WORKER AS THE BASIS OF SOCIAL REFORM AND CALLS FOR FREE DEMOCRATIC LABOR UNIONS, BUT QUALIFIES THIS FREEDOM BY CALLING FOR STATE REGULATION OF STRIKES AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

8. THOUGH A FREQUENTLY CAUTIOUS AND DELIBERATELY VAGUE DOCUMENT (WHICH DOES, HOWEVER, PAVE NEW PATHS FOR SPANISH POLITICAL MANIFESTOES, PARTICULARLY IN ITS CONCERN FOR REFORMS IN SUCH NON-POLITICAL AREAS AS POLLUTION AND HEALTH CARE), THE FRAGA PROGRAM IS THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL PROGRAM TO BE RELEASED BY ANY POLITICAL GROUP WITH A PRESTIGIOUS LEADER. FRAGA HAS A JUMP ON OTHER EMBRYO POLITICAL GROUPS BOTH IN TERMS OF CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP AND ARTICULATED PROGRAM. ACCORDING TO ANTONIO CORTINA, THE GODSA GENERAL MANAGER, THE PROGRAM ITSELF, DRAWN FROM FRAGA'S PERSONAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AS ALREADY DELINEATED IN HIS NUMEROUS BOOKS AND ARTICLES, ORIGINALLY CONTAINED MORE SPECIFIC AND MORE LIBERAL PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL/SOCIAL REFORM; IT HAD TO BE "TOUCHED UP" BEFORE ITS RELEASE TO AVOID OFFENDING SOME OF FRAGA'S PRINCIPAL BUSINESS SUPPORTERS, NOT COUNTING OTHER SECTORS IN THE POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

STABLER

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